

THE

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

CONGRESSIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY,

HELD

In the Hall of the House of Representatives of the United States,

ON

THE EVENING OF THE 27TH FEBRUARY, 1838.



WASHINGTON:

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1838.

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1876

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TEMPERANCE REPORT.

At a meeting of the members of the Congressional Temperance Society, held in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate, on the 28th day of February, 1838, the following gentlemen were chosen officers of the Society for the ensuing year :

President—Hon. Felix Grundy, of Tennessee.

Vice Presidents—Hon. W. C. Rives, Virginia ; Hon. James M. Wayne, Georgia ; Hon. John Tipton, Indiana ; Hon. S. Prentiss, Vermont ; Hon. Franklin Pierce, New Hampshire ; Hon. John Reed, Massachusetts ; Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, Ohio ; Hon. S. Southard, New Jersey ; Hon. Thomas Henry, Pennsylvania ; Hon. Arphaxad Loomis, New York ; Hon. Edmund Deberry, North Carolina.

Executive Committee—Hon. George N. Briggs, Massachusetts ; Hon. Benjamin Swift, Vermont ; Hon. George Grinnell, Jr., Massachusetts ; Hon. David Potts, Jr., Pennsylvania ; Hon. William Slade, Vermont.

Auditor—Lewis H. Machen, Esq.

Treasurer—Hon. Joseph C. Noyes, Maine.

Secretary—John S. Meehan, Esq.

On motion of Mr. BRIGGS, of Massachusetts, the following resolution was unanimously passed :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be given to the Hon. Mr. Buckingham, of England, for his able, eloquent, and interesting address, delivered before this Society on the evening of the 27th instant, in the hall of the House of Representatives ; and that the President of this Society be requested to communicate this resolution to Mr. Buckingham.

On motion of Mr. REED, of Massachusetts, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the Secretaries of the State Temperance Societies, and of the American Temperance Union, be requested to communicate to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Temperance Society, annually, by the first day of February, such facts and statements as may aid the committee in furnishing a condensed report at the annual meeting of the Congressional Society.

A true copy of record.

JOHN S. MEEHAN,
Sec'y of the Cong. Temp. Society.

MARCH 5, 1838.

REPORT

*Of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Temperance Society,
February 27, 1838.*

This Society was organized in 1833. The gentlemen who formed it, being friends or members of the local societies in their own States, united to raise a standard here in this Capitol, which might be seen from every part

of the Union. The number of names now attached to the constitution of the Society, consisting of members of Congress, with the addition of some of the officers of the two Houses and of the Government, is about one hundred. The sole and great design of the early and present members of the association was, and is, to unite their efforts to promote the good cause of temperance, by moral influences alone.

Appreciating the power of example in all cases, and more especially when set by men occupying high official stations, assigned them by public confidence, they felt impelled by every consideration of duty to exert their personal influence, together with that additional influence which is inseparable from official character, in promoting the prosperity and welfare of those who had conferred upon them that official character. They saw, with deep concern, with what destructive fury the tornado of intemperance had swept over the land. They had seen their fellow-countrymen of all classes, from the honest and hardy laborer to the accomplished and erudite scholar, and the gifted and honored statesman, fall victims to its power. Private and public morals were poisoned and prostrated by its influence. Individual and public prosperity was withered and blasted under its resistless control. They saw, in a land abounding with all the elements of personal thrift and national advancement, the existence of a *cause*, pervading all classes of its citizens, and extending throughout its length and breadth, which, if not arrested and mastered, would bring down upon that whole country ruin and disgrace.

To check the mighty evil, they resolved to associate and act. As has already been said, the means used were to be moral means alone. For the attainment of so desirable an object, all party and political considerations were, by common consent, to be left at the entrance into this voluntary and philanthropic association. Men of all parties in politics, of all sects in religion, men coming from all parts of the Union, laid by their politics, subdued their sectarian predilections, and forgot their local partialities, and united on one common ground, to sustain a cause which they held identical with humanity, benevolence and patriotism. Temperance is the great moral common, on which all men may meet, unite, and labor. The results and benefits of their labor are as common as the ground on which they meet, and as broad and extensive as the regions from which they come. That this Society has faithfully carried out the principle of non-interference with politics or sectarianism, is shown by the fact, that whilst from its origin it has embraced men of all parties in politics and various opinions in religion, yet the harmony of the Society has not been interrupted a moment, by even a suspicion that this fundamental principle has been on any occasion departed from. The members of the Society flatter themselves that their organization and existence have aided in the promotion of the cause which they advocate, throughout the Union, every section of which they represent in this great Republican Metropolis.

No person who has been on the ground during the period of the Society's existence can doubt that an essential change has been exhibited among members of Congress, in the diminished use of ardent spirits. Several boarding-house messes, made up of members, have passed entire sessions without having ardent spirits upon their sideboards, or using wine at their tables. Does not this fact strongly illustrate the successful progress of the temperance principle?

Until the first session of the present Congress, held in September last, the two spacious rooms in the basement of the Capitol, kept as places for re-

freshment, had each a large bar, filled with all kinds of ardent spirits and intoxicating drinks, for the supply of those who resorted to them. Early in that session, the two Houses concurred in the prompt passage of a joint standing rule, that "no spirituous liquors shall be offered for sale or exhibited within the Capitol, or on the public grounds adjacent thereto." The presiding officers of both Houses have avowed their determination of seeing this law of their Houses rigidly executed, and have given orders to their police officials to see that it is done.

The rapidity and extent of the temperance reformation, since its obscure and peaceful origin but a few years back, is believed to be without a parallel in the history of moral reform among men. The cause of that success is to be seen in the singleness and simplicity of the instruments with which it has been accomplished. Facts have been carefully collected and presented to the public mind, to prove the existence and the enormity of the evils complained of. The clear and adequate remedy proposed was "*abstinence from the use of the substance which produced the mischief.*" To bring men to the adoption of the remedy, reason and argument have been addressed to their judgment and their conscience.

Men will readily give audience when reason is calmly and kindly addressed to their understanding; and when their understanding is convinced, they are easily persuaded to act. In the temperance cause, right action is success. Let its friends, then, taking courage from the past, press forward in their career of usefulness, cheering their associates, and reasoning with their adversaries; being careful hereafter, as they have been heretofore, to separate their operations from all the other agitating questions and topics of the day.

Let the millions of dollars which have been saved and added to the private and public resources of the country, the thousands of their fellow-beings whom they have seen rescued from the drunkard's thralldom and the drunkard's doom, and the countless multitudes of the rising generation, who have been held back from ruin, inspire them still to persevere.

By order of the Executive Committee.

PUBLIC MEETING.

The annual meeting of the American Congressional Temperance Society was held, by permission of the House of Representatives, in the hall of that body, in the Capitol, on Tuesday evening, the 27th of February. The business of the evening was introduced with prayer by Rev. Mr. Slicer, Chaplain to the Senate.

The President's Address.

The Hon. FELIX GRUNDY, President of the Society, took the chair, and in a brief address adverted with pleasure to the fact, that on this evening the friends of the temperance cause, not only in various portions of the United States, but also in Great Britain and other foreign countries, were assembled to promote its interests and influence; and expressed his gratification in having the opportunity of introducing to the Society and the large audience which filled the hall a distinguished foreigner, from the land of our fathers, the Hon. Mr. Buckingham, late a member of the British Parliament, who was present, with an intention of laying before the Society some highly interesting details in relation to the progress of the good cause in Great Britain.

Speech of Rev. Mr. Marsh.

The Rev. Mr. MARSH, Secretary of the American Temperance Union, then entered into some statements in regard to the present condition and prospects of the temperance cause in this country as well as abroad. He observed that the aspect of the temperance enterprise had never been more favorable than at the present moment. A considerable time had been heretofore occupied in settling first principles, and ascertaining what was needed and what was practicable, in order to promote a general temperance reform. It was now generally understood, and admitted, that alcohol, a subtle poison, generated in the process of fermentation, the cause of drunkenness, was neither needful nor useful, as a beverage, to men in health, but in all cases injurious; and that the evils of intemperance never would be extirpated but in its entire disuse by the human family. He stated that there were now about eight thousand temperance societies in the United States, in which there were enrolled a million and a half of our population. A large proportion of these societies are now organized on the principles of total abstinence. Through the combined action of these societies, a very general disuse of alcoholic drinks had been effected, not only among the agricultural and mechanical classes of our people, but in our merchant ships, in the army, and he wished he could add, in the navy also; the result of which had been a great prevention of vice and immorality, and the blessed reformation of thousands of unhappy inebriates. Previous to the commencement of this great reform, the average annual importation of ardent spirits into the United States had been four millions four hundred thousand gallons, to which was added from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. more, of domestic manufacture. But, for the last six years, the average importation had not exceeded two millions six hundred thousand gallons, while the home manufacture had decreased in a still greater proportion. Of one thousand three hundred distilleries once existing in the State of New York, there remained now but one hundred and ninety in operation; and of these, he was credibly informed, that more than one hundred would fall, but for the home manufacture of wines. About fifteen millions of temperance documents had in that State been published, and one hundred and thirty-five thousand persons, including one thousand nine hundred clergymen, were pledged to total abstinence from all that intoxicates. Of these, eighty thousand had signed the pledge within the last year.

Mr. M. went into some general observations on the success of the cause with the farming interest, multitudes of whom had abandoned the manufacture of cider, and had applied the product of their orchards to the raising of cattle and swine; through which change the agricultural capital of New York alone had received, it was believed, an accession of a million of dollars. He congratulated the President of the Society on the fact, that that gentleman's native State (Tennessee) had been the first to declare, by law, that the retailing of ardent spirits should be a misdemeanor.

Mr. M. then adverted to the progress of the cause in India, in Karnoul, Prince of Wales' Island, in New Zealand, and also in Prussia, where the Crown Prince had become the patron of the cause, and where the King in council had directed the Governors of the Provinces to organize temperance societies in all the Provinces, and report their progress; the clergy throughout his dominions to preach frequently in behalf of temperance, and the schoolmasters to adopt, as a class-book, in all the schools, the Temperance History. In France, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Mole, has applied to

the American Temperance Society, requesting the communication of copies of all its documents, with a view to the introduction of the temperance enterprise in that kingdom. Of the success of the cause in Great Britain, he should refrain from saying anything, since one of the most distinguished among the promoters of this cause was now present, and was expected to address the assembly ; a gentleman who had the boldness to bring the subject into Parliament, where he had been appointed the chairman of a committee of investigation, which had imbodyed an array of facts, such as had extensively impressed the three kingdoms, and was likely to lead to the happiest and most important results. Mr. M. concluded by moving the following resolution :

Resolved, That the great success which has rewarded the labors of temperance societies should encourage them to continue their efforts until the triumph shall be complete ; and that whilst engaged in pushing forward the reformation, which it is their purpose to consummate, they should carefully avoid everything of a party, political, or sectarian character, and direct all their engines to save their fellow-beings and their country from the curse of intemperance.

The resolution was seconded by the Hon. HILAND HALL, Representative from Vermont, and the question being put, it was unanimously adopted.

The Hon. Mr. REED, of Massachusetts, then offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That seamen, whether in the merchant service, fisheries, or navy, from their exposed situation, as well as from the responsibility of their trust, require the peculiar sympathy of their fellow-men to preserve them from the evil of intemperance.

Speech of Hon. Mr. Reed.

On this resolution, Mr. REED spoke as follows :

Mr. PRESIDENT : In offering the resolution now presented to the consideration of this assembly, I beg to make a few brief remarks in its support.

The life of man is a state of trial. He is exposed to some vices called *besetting sins*. Language cannot more appropriately and distinctly convey the idea intended. I denominate intemperance a sin "which doth so easily beset us." It assails us in all the varied forms of society and walks of life. No class or rank have resisted its power ; and its melancholy and degrading effects have reduced its victims, high and low, to a common level of misery, wretchedness, and infamy.

Perhaps few classes of men are so much exposed to intemperance as seamen, and in view of their peculiarly exposed situation they have the highest claim upon their fellow-men for succor and protection.

I estimate that there are in the United States, engaged in commerce, fisheries, and the navy, one hundred thousand seamen. Of that number, perhaps fifty thousand are connected with families, firesides, and homes. The remaining fifty thousand, a part of whom are foreigners, call the United States their home. A continent is their home.

Their path is o'er the mountain wave,
Their home is on the deep.

Hearth, and fireside, and dwelling-place, they know not. A "Cotter's Saturday night," or even a Christmas, at home, they enjoy not. A father's counsel, or mother's persuasion, they hear not. They are strangers to the *sweet* sound, and still sweeter influence of that most endearing word, *home*.

At sea and in foreign climes every body knows their unavoidable exposure. When they set foot on the land of their country, they are beset by most unprincipled and merciless men, called tavern keepers and boarding-house keepers, whom, in their laconic and expressive language, they denominate *land sharks*, as being the most voracious and persevering in the pursuit of prey of all creatures.

These men proffer their aid and hospitality, to deceive and betray. They contrive to delude and intoxicate their guests, to plunder and rob them. Thus the poor sailor, in a few days after his arrival from a long and dangerous voyage, is often deprived of every dollar of his hard earnings, and literally driven from the land, to seek refuge upon the ocean. If bad health or sickness render him incompetent for his severe employment, what is his situation?

Societies have been formed to aid unfortunate seamen. If I may be permitted to express an opinion, I would say that the principal means to effectuate the great reform, most devoutly to be wished, is an entire change in their boarding-houses. Let them be provided with decent, temperate, comfortable boarding-houses; and let sober, honest men keep them. It seems to me (with due respect) that it is the duty of merchants and ship-owners, in whose employ these men are, and who have been aided by them in attaining competence and wealth, to provide for them such houses in all our principal ports. But, at any rate, I hope that charity, guided by wisdom, will speedily come to the rescue. The object is great and good, and worthy her noblest efforts. I do not pretend the suggestion is new; but if it shall have the effect to attract some attention to the subject, and thereby hasten its consummation, I shall esteem this day one of the happiest days of my life.

A great reform among seamen, and especially among those who *have families and homes*, such as are many of my neighbors and friends, has been effected. A considerable portion of our vessels, (the master taking the lead,) in various employments, allow no spirit on board. Those merchants and ship owners who heed not temperance or temperance societies are not less anxious than others to obtain temperance masters, and make their ships *temperance ships*. It is the homage indulgence pays to temperance.

The eagle eye of interest has not failed to discover that there is security in temperance. Hence insurance companies (incorporations without souls) do not hesitate to take risks in temperance ships at a diminished premium; and the result has proved that those risks are most profitable.* I have no time to descend to particulars to illustrate the important fact so conclusively proved. I invite others to investigate it. It deserves careful and thorough inquiry.

By the power and influence of temperance societies, and the means used in the great and good cause, a most important reform has been effected. By their influence, hundreds of vessels, thousands of lives, (seamen and passengers,) and millions of property, have been saved. Who can *estimate* the amount of good that has been achieved by them? As one of their earliest

* An application was made some years ago to the Legislature of Massachusetts, to grant a charter for an insurance company, to insure old miserable vessels, such as others would not insure. I was consulted, and advised not to grant the charter, except upon the express condition that the lives of all on board should be insured. Should not those companies which insure at the present day, with spirit on board, be required to insure the lives as well as property?

friends and supporters, I rejoice in the prospect of still greater good to be effected. Their success has silenced and put to shame the predictions of enemies, and more than verified the warmest hopes and anticipations of friends. Past success adds assurance to hope, and should encourage those who have engaged in the cause to persevere, and not be weary in well-doing. And those who stand by and look on, as spectators and passengers on board, and wish well to the cause, but who have lacked faith or decision to move them to action, have no apology for further delay.

The good effected is not left, as in some cases, to doubtful disputation. It is plain and palpable. It appears in the life and character, and reform is written upon the countenance, and he who runs may read. It is manifest to the understanding, that a change has come over the man. He was a drunkard, and is sober; "was dead, and is alive." Who can behold such a reformation, and not approve in *secret*, (if public approbation be withheld,) temperance societies; the humble instruments, under God, by which it had been effected?

Life itself is a warfare; and it is the business of life to learn to control the appetite and passions, and subject them to the laws of reason and religion. If we have adopted good principles, we cannot be too much on our guard, lest we fail to execute them in our lives.

Again; rising generations are constantly coming up before us, and need precept, and, still more, need example. The world is much under the dominion of custom and fashion. Temperance societies are required to aid us in forming proper customs to protect each other. Bad customs and bad fashions must be put down by good ones. Good fashions and good customs must be put up and sustained by the union of wise and good men. Intemperance is the vice of bad society. Temperance is the virtue of good society. Upon this rock, temperance societies should be, and I trust are, founded; and will they not *stand sure* and *steadfast*?

Mr. President, in connexion with the subject, I take pleasure in stating that the temperance reform has reached our army and navy, and its effects have been most useful and salutary. Although spirit is made a part of the daily ration, provision has been made for commutation, and its use is, to a considerable extent, *discontinued*. Further reform in the army and navy is proposed; and bills are before Congress for that purpose. Upon the *Navy Bill* I propose to offer an amendment, to entirely dispense with ardent spirit; and, by way of commutation, give in lieu thereof twice its value in money. I will detain this assembly no longer, nor consume that time which may be more pleasantly and usefully employed in listening to others who may follow.

The resolution was seconded by E. C. DELAVAN, Esquire, chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Temperance Union.

Speech of Mr. Delavan.

He observed that it had been made his duty, from the situation he held, to correspond with many distinguished gentlemen connected with the seamen's service of the United States, from whom he had obtained the following, as the general result of their combined experience, viz: That at least three-fourths of all the disasters that had happened to our ships at sea could be traced to the use of intoxicating drinks. Having collected facts on the subject from every port in the United States, he had embodied them in a document addressed to

the various insurance offices of the Union, commencing with those in New York. He had received responses from the presidents of all these associations, and the result was, a unanimous vote, entered into by them all on the same day, to deduct five per cent. from the premium on insurance, in all cases where vessels sailed on the temperance plan. This measure had been attended with the most propitious consequences. There were at this time upwards of 1,200 ships, sailing from the various ports of this Union, without any alcohol on board; and just in proportion as the premiums of the different insurance offices had been diminished from this cause, in the same proportion had dividends increased on insurance stock.

The following resolution was offered by the Hon. JOSEPH C. NOYES, of Maine :

Resolved, That the reformation of the grossly intemperate was for too long a period looked upon as hopeless. The signal success which has attended the efforts of the friends of the cause of temperance, in this particular, wherever they have been fully and faithfully exerted, affords the strongest argument for a renewed perseverance in so desirable an object.

The resolution was seconded by the Hon. Mr. MORRIS, of Ohio, when it passed unanimously.

The Hon. Mr. RANDOLPH, of New Jersey, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That both Houses of Congress are entitled to the thanks of this Society, and of the whole country, for their prompt adoption of a joint standing rule, excluding ardent spirits from the restorateurs of the "Capitol and the public grounds adjacent thereto."

Speech of Mr. Randolph.

Mr. RANDOLPH said that he gladly took this opportunity to express his approbation of the measure to which the resolution alluded, although he had been deprived, by absence at the time, of the pleasure of voting in its behalf. A resolution of the kind had been loudly called for. Fame, with her thousand tongues, had spread abroad some dark tales respecting legislative measures which had been carried in that hall under influences drawn from the inebriating bowl. Though he did not himself believe in the truth of any such report, yet its influence was known and felt, and the disgraceful statement itself had been wafted far beyond the deep blue waters of the Atlantic, and circulated in foreign countries, to the dishonor of the American name. It was fit and becoming in the legislators of the 25th Congress to seize the first opportunity of wiping off this stain.

The resolution was important in another point of view. The nation looked up to the seat of Government not for political merely, but also for moral action. The tone of morals in the two Houses of Congress was felt to the remotest extremities of this vast republic. That Capitol stood as a beacon erected in the centre of this nation. If the example here set was in favor of virtue, the influence would go forth in cheering beams to our country's farthest bourn, to enlighten and to bless; but if otherwise, it would but resemble those false lights held out to deceive the storm-beaten mariner, and would lure all who trusted to it to their ruin. The spirit of our free institutions, the voice of public sentiment, called loudly on the representatives of the people; nay, the general gloom which now brooded over that hall, the melancholy badges which were seen on every side, called in emphatic tones, demanding that a sound and healthful moral influence be sent forth from this central spot over all the length and breadth of the land.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. HARVEY LINDSLY, of Washington, and unanimously adopted.

The Hon. Mr. BRIGGS, of Massachusetts, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That whilst we rejoice at the signal victories which, under Providence, have been achieved by the friends of temperance in our own country, we hail with satisfaction its introduction and triumphs in other lands, and would cheer on our brethren who are there pressing on in the same benevolent cause.

Mr. BRIGGS said it would be interesting, if the time and the occasion would admit, to trace the history and progress of the temperance cause, from its feeble and humble beginning to its present state of vigorous prosperity. It would be gratifying and profitable to review the labors of its few, early, isolated, but resolute and determined friends, who stood up alone, and proclaimed a war of extermination against a mammoth vice which was stalking through the land. But he said it was not proper, at this time, that he should indulge in the gratification which such a course would afford.

Mr. B. said, I cannot consent one moment longer to postpone the pleasure which you, Mr. President, and the audience, anticipate, (and I am sure you will not be disappointed,) in listening to the distinguished stranger who sits before me; the eloquent advocate of our cause, who comes to us from the home of our forefathers.

The Hon. Mr. BUCKINGHAM* rose to second the resolution, and proceeded to address the meeting nearly as follows:

Speech of the honorable Mr. Buckingham.

MR. PRESIDENT: Though I have reason to congratulate myself on being indulged with the privilege of seconding the resolution now before you, I cannot but deeply regret that, at a moment when I could wish both my physical and mental energies to be at their very topmost bent, a painful visitation, which afflicts me with a hoarse voice, and lungs oppressed, gives me cause to wish that some other opportunity could have been selected for the address which I am now called upon to deliver; more especially, from the nature of those expectations which may have been raised by the kind remarks of gentlemen preceding me, but which, I have too much reason to fear, will have been raised in vain.

Since, however, we are all occasionally the victims of similar afflictions, I need not fear to throw myself on the indulgence of this audience, who, I feel assured, will make all becoming allowance for the peculiarity of my position; and I hope that, as we proceed, I may be enabled to rise above this untoward obstacle, and make myself distinctly heard and understood.

It is a subject of deep congratulation that I find myself honored to stand in this place on this occasion; although, at the same time, it impresses me with a deep conviction of the responsibility of the task I have undertaken. The time is most solemn. We are all aware, from the allusion of the honorable President of the Society in his opening address, that, throughout Great Britain as well as the United States, simultaneous meetings are this evening held, with a view to the promotion of the good cause which has assembled us here, and united prayers are rising to Heaven that it may be prospered and furthered by the Divine blessing. The time, I confess, affects me deeply. I feel that, while standing before you at this moment, a thousand kindred voices are addressing attending auditories, and pleading the same cause now committed to my hands. And if the time invests the present occasion with unusual solemnity, the place is not less impressive. It is the first time that the voice of the "stranger-guest" now before you has been heard in this your magnificent hall, the seat of legislation for a great and free country; while it derives still additional importance from what has been admitted by those who preceded me, that the influence of what is done here must and will reach the utmost verge of this vast continent. Sir, I hope that it will not stop there; but will pass over the dark blue waters of the sea, and, like them, progressively go forward, wave after wave, until it shall encircle this fair globe,

* To the politeness of the editors of the New York Observer the Society are indebted for the speech of Mr. Buckingham, which was reported for that paper.

not by the power of victorious arms, but by the higher and nobler energy of heaven-inspired benevolence in the cause of man. Though America has reason to be proud of many things, she has, I think, greater reason than all to be proud of having been the first to call the attention of Europe, as well as of her own citizens, to that fearful scourge of intemperance, which had so long swept over the world in a fiery flood, polluting and destroying it, and the first to arouse the intellectual and moral power of the community to devise and prosecute an effectual remedy.

Allusion has been kindly made to my situation in another country, which made me acquainted with the extent and fearful results of this evil there, and which occasioned me to have some share in the advocacy of the temperance reform. It is proper that I should leave untouched the question of the amount, either of the evil which prevailed or the good which has been done in America, in reference to this subject. All this I willingly confide to her own able and zealous citizens, who are abundantly capable of looking to the interests of morality and virtue in their own land, and I shall therefore confine myself to a brief history of what has been done in Great Britain. It is well, in cases of this sort, to lay down some chart or plan beforehand. I shall therefore first show the causes of the movement which has taken place in England, and the highly beneficial consequences which have been its result. It is probable that similar effects, and even more powerful ones, have been produced here; since the influence of public opinion is generally supposed to be greater under republican forms of government than under monarchical institutions.

It is about seven years ago that I was selected, by a portion of my fellow-citizens in one of the large manufacturing towns of England, to represent them in the British House of Commons. It was well known to my constituents, that I was then recently arrived from extensive travels in the East. While pursuing that journey, I could not but be deeply impressed with the contrast exhibited by the sobriety prevailing throughout the oriental countries, and the habits of intoxication which so generally characterized the western nations of Europe. You shall judge whether I was not justified in this feeling. I prosecuted my travels through Egypt, and along the banks of the Nile; thence into Palestine, by Joppa and Jerusalem; onward through Syria, by Damascus; across into Mesopotamia, by Ur, Nineveh, and Babylon; onward still to Persia, by Ispahan and Shiraz; and thence to Hindostan. These extensive travels occupied nearly three years of time, during which I must have travelled not less than thirty thousand miles, and held personal communication, to a greater or less extent, with nearly three millions of people. Yet throughout that vast space of country, during that great length of time, and amid all those multitudes of people, I do not think I saw half a dozen of intoxicated persons among the native inhabitants. But on my return to that country which, amidst all I had seen, I always loved the most, and whose memory was doubly endeared to my heart by so long an exile, that heart was affected in a manner which no language can describe, by meeting, within the first hour I set my foot upon her shores, a greater number of drunken persons than I had seen in my three years' journey of thirty thousand miles, and my intercourse with three millions of men. Among the wretched objects which met my view among the drunkards of my own native land were not only men, but women and children.

I ask you if it could have been possible for one whose experience had brought those two pictures in vivid contrast beneath his own eyes, if he were a man, and not unworthy of the name, to feel totally indifferent to what he beheld, and to be willing to do nothing to remedy such a state of things? I thank Heaven that it inspired me with a determination to pursue, forthwith, an examination into the state of the whole empire of Great Britain, with special reference to the temperate or intemperate habits of its population. I wished to do this, in the hope of undeceiving myself, if, indeed, I had been deceived. I tried to flatter myself with the belief that the intemperance I had witnessed was local in its character, that it might be peculiar to a seaport and to the habits which grew out of maritime intercourse; but, on penetrating the interior of the country, I found the same dreadful habits prevailing as extensively among the manufacturing population as among the inhabitants of seaports, and exerting as fatal an influence in agricultural districts, the most remote from the metropolis, as in the metropolis itself. Although I still continued to hope that I might strike upon some path where these disgraceful scenes would not meet me with so much frequency, I sought for it in vain. In no direction could I find any diminution of the evil. It was as prevalent in the interior of the community as on its borders, in the East as in the West. It was not a mere local taint upon the national escutcheon, but the entire shield was all blotted over with the foul and cankerous spot.

By subsequent journeys, during four or five years, not only in England but in Scotland and Ireland, I was more and more convinced of the necessity of doing something to arrest

this great national calamity ; and I therefore said, when invited to become a member of the House of Commons, that I could consent to receive that appointment on one stipulation only ; and that was, that on the first fitting occasion I should draw the attention of Parliament to this important subject. I was instantly met by the declaration, that the avowal of such a determination must be fatal to all hope of my being returned as a member. All that numerous class in the community who had already amassed or who were in the rapid process of amassing fortunes from the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, as well as the still more numerous classes of those who were in the habit of indulging their appetite for such a beverage, would feel the avowal as a personal reproach and reflection upon themselves, and would as of course be banded together against me ; and these seemed together to constitute so large a proportion of the community, that it would be not chivalrous, but Quixotic, to attempt to obtain their votes at an election ; more especially, as in England the return of the period for a parliamentary contest constitutes the great bacchanalia of the nation ; more intoxicating drink being consumed during that season than in three or four times as great a space of time during any other period ; and, in fact, that very practice constitutes the great instrument by which the reason of the people is deceived, and party spirit excited to its highest pitch. To this I replied, I have set my heart on this object. If you invite me to stand as your candidate, I certainly have a right to stipulate upon what terms I will consent to do so. I do not ask your suffrages. It is you who ask my compliance ; and I now say to you, that if I ever become a member of the legislative body, I must carry into it, in full force, my detestation of this vice, and shall certainly do what in me lies to diminish, if I cannot eradicate it.

This answer appalled them by its firmness ; for there is something about a determined and vigorous course, when believed to be founded on a regard to principle, which never fails to command respect. In consequence of this reply, conferences were held by the clergy, the medical body, the magistracy, and the more moral and intellectual portion of the community ; and although they found themselves but few in numbers, in proportion to the multitude, they hoped that their station, their personal influence, and above all the blessing of Heaven, would prove effectual in enabling them to combat successfully against the force of mere numbers. They were right ; for although every effort was put forth, and every artifice employed, to render my return to Parliament impossible, the success of my friends was triumphant and overwhelming, to a degree beyond their utmost hope. I was accordingly returned as duly elected, and in consequence embraced the earliest opportunity to draw the attention of that body to the subject of the prevalence of drinking habits throughout the kingdom.

I have deemed this brief account necessary, inasmuch as I appear before you to-night more in the character of a witness than an advocate ; you have consequently a right to ask whence I come, what opportunities I have had for observation, how I have used these opportunities, and on what data my testimony is founded ; for although you might be disposed to accord to me the ordinary courtesy of considering me to be a man of integrity until some presumption to the contrary appeared, yet in so great a cause, pregnant with consequences so extensive and important, you have a right to know whether the data on which my testimony rests are sound and authentic or not.

I was aware, that if among my constituents the number in favor of a temperance investigation was so few, in the Legislature it would be still fewer. And in making this remark, I intend no reproach upon legislative bodies in general ; nor would be understood to imply that their members are less moral than the rest of the community ; but, as you well know, there are so many subjects of pressing public interest which constantly demand their attention, that little disposition is felt to turn aside from these pressing demands, to attend to measures and plans which are usually confided to the moral agency of private individuals alone. I soon found that it would be in vain to bring the subject forward in the shape of a naked proposition, demanding immediate legislative interference, as such a proposition would not be received. I therefore pursued a different plan. In a free Government, Legislatures can be best influenced through their constituency. In England, especially, it is well known that the action of the House of Commons depends upon and reflects the public will. To move Parliament, therefore, the first step is to move the public will. With this in view, I gave notice in the House of Commons, that on a certain day, some months ahead, I would ask the attention of the House to a motion for inquiry, whether drunkenness prevailed to any great extent in the United Kingdom ; and whether it was productive of any evils of magnitude ; with a view, if such should be proved to be the case, that a suitable remedy might be provided. A step like this was both safe and modest : the notice affirmed nothing, it committed no one. My next agency was, to

write to the great body of the clergy and ministers of religion throughout the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, Episcopal and Dissenting; for the question was not one of sect or party, any more than it is a question of particular nations. It is as universal in its interests as any question can be.

Besides the clergy, we addressed in like manner the great body of the magistracy, of the medical profession, and, in a word, all who were known to take a lead in society on great moral questions. We requested them to prosecute inquiries in their own appropriate spheres and neighborhoods, with a view to embodying the moral sense of the community on the subject of intemperance, in petitions, to be presented to Parliament, in favor of granting the inquiry proposed. This preparatory measure was productive of the best effect. There were, in every part of the community, some individuals, although their number was often small, who approved of the general object, and entered into it with zeal. The effect was, to combine the efforts of all such persons, and draw them to a point. Petitions were accordingly drawn up, and although the signers to some of them were but few in number, this was made up by intellect and weight of character. The petitions were so arranged in time as not to be presented all at once, because then the effect of each one would be lost in the general mass; nor were they all sent to one member; on the contrary, they were directed to almost all the members of Parliament, on different days in succession, so that for the space of four months the House was besieged by the presentation of one or two of them daily; for in England there is a particular hour on each day, from four to five o'clock, assigned for the presentation of petitions. Whenever that hour arrived, one or two different members would present petitions in favor of the inquiry respecting drunkenness; and thus they continued to come in, like that constant drop, which, as the proverb says, will wear the stone. When the first petition was presented, it produced a general smile, and it was remarked that some visionary or insane person had been endeavoring to stir up his neighbors to engage in this foolish and impracticable scheme. When new petitions continued to pour in, however, they excited some surprise; though gentlemen said it was a seven days' wonder, and would soon have an end. But when week after week and month after month elapsed, and still there was no end to these petitions, an impression began to be produced, that put within my reach, powers of operation which, but for this, I never could have possessed. At first, when I would present myself to members of the House, and entreat for a few minutes' interview on the subject of the proposed inquiry, the request was generally evaded. Gentlemen assured me they would be very happy to listen, but just then their public avocations were so pressing; or it happened unfortunately that they were just going to dine; or when they had previously appeared to be at leisure, and I thought to seize a favorable moment to further my design, they would happen suddenly to recollect an important engagement, to which they must pay instant attention; but when they found petitions coming in from their own districts, signed by influential and powerful individuals, whom they personally knew, among the clergy, among the magistracy, and the medical profession, they began to find that the matter was not to be trifled with, and they said to themselves, "these men certainly are not mad, though the mover of the proposition may be. If he is insane, he has at any rate managed to infect others of undoubted respectability with the same disease; and this new madness has extended itself so far, and has seized upon men so various, that there must be some method in it." Besides, the period of their re-election was drawing on, and some gentlemen began to bethink themselves that peradventure, when they should be on the hustings, some crabbed constituent from among the crowd might take it into his head to ask, "pray, sir, what did you do with those petitions we sent you for an inquiry into the intemperance of the people?" They were therefore obliged to keep upon their guard, that they might be able to show a balanced account with their constituents on the day of reckoning; until, partly by the influence of the names of the signers of these petitions, and partly through the remonstrances of conscience, they were induced to do what otherwise they never would have done, and that was, to come to me, and consult with me upon the subject. The tables were now turned, and the very individuals who could not spare me five minutes of their valuable time, were brought to be themselves the applicants, and would say to me that they would be very happy if I could spare them five minutes conversation respecting these petitions, as they wished to understand the subject to which they related before they presented or spoke on them. Of course I readily complied, and thus enjoyed the opportunity of delivering a voluntary lecture on intemperance, to men to whom otherwise I could never have approached on that topic.

I will not trouble you with the detail of the facts which became known to me previous to the appointment of a committee. They were sufficient to enable me to state, on au-

thentic, though not on official data, the fearful amount of loss of life, deterioration of morals, and destruction of property, which intemperance occasioned in our nation. And, after a long debate on the subject, the resolution was agreed to, and the committee of inquiry proposed by it appointed.

A usage prevails in Parliament, in the appointment of select committees, according to which the individual who brings forward the measure, and moves for the committee, selects one member of it, and the Government another, until the number is completed. Now, although the Government had at first been decidedly opposed to the whole movement, lest its effects should be to diminish the revenue, and thereby increase the difficulties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at all times great, in providing for the public expenditure, yet the appointment of this committee, I must do the Government the justice to say, was conducted with the strictest impartiality; and as this was neither a party nor a sectarian question, it did so happen that we had on our committee an equal number of Tories, Whigs, and Radicals. What is meant by these party names, you, I presume, understand sufficiently. You are aware that the Tories are for staying where they are, the Whigs for advancing in reform at a moderate pace, while the Radicals are for pushing on at a gallop. This difference of opinion is not peculiar to England, but has its origin in the nature of things and in the structure of the human mind. Then we had an opportunity of getting Catholics as well as Protestants, Dissenters as well as Episcopalians, appointed on the same committee; and having thus combined all religious as well as political parties, those opposed to the inquiry, as well as those approving it, in one miscellaneous body, we had the elements of as fair a jury as could possibly have been selected, to sift evidence and arrive at an unbiased result. The gentlemen composing this committee did me the honor of electing me as their chairman, a circumstance which made it imperative on me to be present at every meeting of the committee; so that not a question was put, nor an answer given, nor a discussion had, which I did not hear and fully understand. We had witnesses from England, from Ireland, from Scotland and Wales; and as we were aware that there were gradations in the scale of intemperate habits in different parts of the kingdom, we resolved to examine a witness from every province and every locality, as far as practicable. As the committee was clothed with power to send for persons and papers, there was no difficulty in effecting an arrangement of this kind. We summoned, in the first place, the leading medical men of the kingdom. And why? Because the first and most visible effects of intemperance are to be seen in its influence in destroying the health of its votaries; and, consequently, medical men were the proper witnesses as to how much disease was actually created by the use of intoxicating drinks, and to what extent that practice prevented or retarded the cure of diseases which had been produced by other causes. We next called upon the magistrates and other persons connected with the administration of justice, because they, coming from all quarters of the kingdom, were in circumstances to testify how large a share intemperance had in the production of crime, and how many it had consigned to the prisons of the country. Not content, however, with this, we called before us master-manufacturers, merchants and ship-owners, that we might ascertain what effect intemperance exerted on the industry of the nation, what ships were lost in consequence of it, what factories were burnt or pulled down, what per cent. of property was wasted, and what amount of time lost, by keeping workmen from their labor. And that we might not confine our investigations to the upper classes, and give to the inquiry too much of an aristocratic character, we summoned also some of the working mechanics themselves. I recollect that we had one hard-featured, iron-handed man from Birmingham, who had himself once been a drunkard, but having reformed, and become a sober man, he was able to tell us all about the matter. We had also a coal-heaver from the Thames, one of the most laborious of all the occupations in the kingdom, a class, too, which is believed to consume more intoxicating drink than any others of the like numbers. Then we had officers of the navy before us, gallant admirals, whose names are recorded on the brightest pages of the British annals, who testified as to the influence of intoxication among our seamen. We called up also officers of the army, who could state its effects upon the health of our troops in foreign climates as well as at home. In short, if ever an inquiry was set on foot which was calculated, in the manner of conducting it, to effect an impartial investigation, I think this was such a one, and I may truly say that I never saw a greater degree of fairness and candor in conducting any inquiry whatever.

I have thus laid before you the machinery we employed, in order that I might fully open to your view the sources whence we drew our information. I will now proceed to submit to you the RESULTS.

In the first place, the medical men presented to us a written document, signed by the

most eminent members of the faculty, to the number of several hundreds, which declared that intoxicating drinks are never necessary to men in health, but, on the contrary, are always hurtful; that they are in fact poisonous, like opium, and arsenic, and nux vomica, and prussic acid; substances which God has given, to be used in small quantities for medical purposes, and which, if so used, may be productive of wholesome results, but which it would be preposterous to think of using daily as a beverage. And here I cannot but bear my testimony to the philanthropy and high sense of honor manifested on this occasion by gentlemen of the medical profession. They gave a bright demonstration of how much more their minds were influenced by truth and the feelings of humanity, than by mere personal interest; for of all producers of disease, from the cure of which their fortunes are derived, intemperance is the greatest; yet, like honest and honorable men, they came forward, with one heart and voice, entreating the Legislature to lay the axe to the root of the tree which brought them all their gains; and while this fact stands as a monument to their honor, it gives at the same time the utmost possible importance and value to their statements as testimony. They stated to us that they could not venture to fix the precise proportion of the entire mass of disease occasioned by intemperance, in one form or another. They could not exactly say whether it was seven-eighths, or nine-tenths, or nine and a half tenths, or nine and three-fourth tenths; but they all agreed that the proportion was immensely great; and it is worthy of remark, that these gentlemen made no distinction, in their official statements, between spirits, wine, beer, and other intoxicating drinks, saving that some of these substances are more potent than others. They seemed to be of opinion that if beer was only one-fourth or one-fifth as strong as brandy, yet if a man drank four or five times as much beer as another did of brandy, it would be productive of the same effect, though its operation might be somewhat slower. In the list of diseases begotten by intemperance, they included a great variety, from those which produced the slightest derangement of the human system, up to insanity itself, and that in its most frightful form of delirium tremens, whose wretched victims seem in this world to have anticipated the torments of the damned; who imagine themselves to be surrounded by demons and imps, waiting to tear them away into eternity. While visions like these possess the mind, the body is covered with perspiration, not in thick drops, but in streams, as if the individuals were actually possessed; and when they are roused from this frightful waking dream, they sink into a lethargy almost like death itself. To these they added a vast and appalling list of the most shocking accidents, in which the wretched drunkards had dislocated their limbs by falls, and had incurred sufferings which one could hardly believe. I will here mention one fact, from which others may be judged of. The number of coroner's inquests held in Sheffield alone, a town whose population is about 100,000, and is not larger than Baltimore, over the dead bodies of men who had perished from this cause, amounted to thirteen in eleven days, or more than a man per day. This number perished from violent deaths, but they were far from being all who were destroyed by intemperance; many wretched drunkards died in their beds, and over them the coroner held no inquiry. If we add all these to the number, it will be a safe inference to say that as many as two men per day, out of every hundred thousand in England, die from the effects of intemperance, in one shape or another. Permit me here to add, that since my arrival in this city I have heard, on evidence believed to be authentic, as the result of recent investigation in the State of New York, that nearly one-third of the whole adult male population of that State die chiefly from the effects of intemperate habits; a fact that of itself is sufficient to arouse the public attention of the whole country.

I will next state the result of the examination of the magistrates, and persons connected with the administration of justice. The amount of crime in England is fearfully great; but if we could prevail on her population to abjure intemperance, there is reason to believe that crime would become as rare as it is now frequent. When men preserve their reason unimpaired, though they continue to be depraved, they do not permit themselves to commit crimes against the law; because they calculate the consequences, and are restrained by fear. The Divine Author of our being has endowed us, in due and just proportions, with passions to stimulate and reason to direct our actions; and we reproach our Maker and defy the arrangements of his providence, when, by the use of intoxicating drinks, we beat down reason from her seat, and set up and inflame our passions, thereby destroying the balance of our nature, as it came from the hand of the Almighty and the All-wise. The experience of all nations has proved that it is quite difficult enough to keep down the human passions in due subjugation to reason, without increasing the difficulty by the use of intoxication. How great, then, is the crime of increasing this difficulty until passion defies control, and rushes into the commission of every enormity! The course of the criminal commences often by stealing small sums of money, wherewith to purchase drink. Then the

power of conscience is deadened, by deeper and deeper draughts; at length, reputation is gone, property is gone, friends and home are gone, and the highway is resorted to, till the wretched victim ends his career by robbery and murder. It was a conviction that the amount of crime had been largely augmented by the influence of intemperance, which led all the friends of humanity to entertain with such ready favor any public movement which looked toward the diminution of that crying evil.

In the next place comes what may be called the politico-economical effect of this great vice, in drying up the roots of the national industry, and thus throwing a mighty impediment in the way of the increase of the national wealth. And here, let none suppose that I regard the acquisition of wealth as the highest object to be aimed at or desired. I am very far from thinking so; but a certain amount of wealth is indispensable to civilization. Without its magic power, a nation can have no great public roads, no canals, no newspapers, no public schools and seminaries of learning, no churches for divine worship. A nation which is poor must, from the very constitution of human things, remain, in the march of civilization and improvement, far behind one that is rich. That nation will attain the highest point of moral, intellectual, and physical improvement, which has the largest amount of wealth directed into the most proper channels, and placed under the control of intelligence and virtue.

The result of the investigation in England proved that not less than fifty millions sterling were wasted in that country in the purchase of intoxicating drinks. This loss is not all suffered by the rich, nor by the poor, nor by the middle classes, but it is abstracted from all. In Ireland, however, at this day the most miserable country under the sun, owing partly perhaps to misgovernment by her rulers, but certainly not less to mis-self-government of her own, it is ascertained that out of seven millions of inhabitants, two millions three hundred thousand are paupers, being one-third of the whole; and when I say *paupers*, I do not mean persons in poverty merely, but those in the last degree of destitution, wretchedness, and rags. Yet, in this most miserable country, six millions of pounds sterling are spent every year in the purchase of whiskey, or in the conversion of nutritious food to poisonous drink. If that sum of money were spent in the purchase of grain, of clothes, and the means of education, who can conceive or describe the change that would instantly be produced in the moral as well as physical state of that people? But all this amount of good is prevented and destroyed by that fiery flood, whose consuming flames rise like the fires of Moloch, calling down the vengeance of indignant Heaven upon that unhappy land. Now, as the drink for which these fifty millions are expended is never necessary, the money wasted upon it must be set down as a national loss; while the positive injury, of which it is the immediate cause, doubles that loss to the nation. Fifty millions is the largest annual amount of revenue which England, in the highest days of her prosperity, has ever been able to realize. You have probably heard, since the fact has been sufficiently reiterated, that Britain is the most over-taxed country in the world; and it has often been said that he who could discharge the national debt of Great Britain would open to her a career of glory such as the world has never yet witnessed. But this, which in theory is but a splendid dream might at once be reduced to solid reality, if her people would but consent to deny themselves, not the benefits, not the enjoyment, but the positive injury which they sustain from the use of intoxicating drinks. The result would be equal to the gift of £50,000,000 a year, from some foreign nation, to be applied to the payment of their national debt. Would this be a trifling benefit? Certainly not. It would be giving a new impetus to the national prosperity, beyond all former parallel.

Would any other effect flow from such a change? Yes. Another £50,000,000 would be gained, in the increased amount of production. You are familiar with the history of the land of your fathers, and you know what it is that has changed Great Britain from what it was in the days of Julius Cæsar, and has made her what she is at the present time. You know that it is the combined effect of intelligence, industry, and virtue. To the national industry, guided by intelligence, and restrained and kept in harmony by the influence of religion, England owes all that she possesses. She has accumulated capital by industry and intelligence; and this capital, setting again in motion the two other qualities named, is the source of all the wealth she enjoys. But if this doctrine be true in regard to England, it must be emphatically so with regard to America. The vast extent of fertile but yet uncultivated land, in the western plains and valleys of your beautiful country, demands an amount of hands to bring it into cultivation, which will long require that the wave of population should be flowing westward in a perpetual tide. To this country, above all others, the life of man, as a producing creature, is of more value than anywhere else. According to calculations made by Mr. Colquhoun, the author of the celebrated work on the Resources of the Brit-

ish Empire, the productive industry of Great Britain is estimated at £300,000,000. Thus the capital, skill, and industry, of her inhabitants are found to add every year three hundred millions to the national wealth, two hundred and fifty of which are distributed among her people, while fifty go to the national revenue. The owners and managers of the factories, and persons employing large numbers of men, assured us that it was a very low estimate to say that one day's labor was lost out of every week by reason of intemperate drinking. Few of the operatives work at all on Mondays. A certain portion of them do not even return to their labor on Tuesday, while a comparatively small number, among whom, unfortunately, are to be found the most skilful workmen, do not resume their labors before Wednesday. Admitting the average loss to be one day in a week, this is one-sixth of the laboring time; and one-sixth of three hundred millions is fifty millions. England, then, spends fifty millions in drinks, which are not merely useless, but injurious, and loses fifty millions in labor by this very drink thus consumed; so that her annual loss is one hundred millions from these two causes alone. But does the evil end there? By no means. We have yet to add to this the actual loss of property by sea and land. On a recent occasion, in Parliament, I was chosen as the chairman of a select committee to inquire into the causes which led to the loss of so many ships at sea; and the selection was probably made because I had been brought up to the sea from my infancy, and was therefore conversant with maritime affairs. The result of the inquiry was, that the value of British vessels and property annually lost at sea was £3,000,000, and that one thousand mariners were drowned every year. And here I must confess, that I was strongly impressed with the solemnity of the scene which I witnessed in this hall of the Representatives of your United States this morning, and with the powerful and touching remarks made by the Rev. Chaplain of the House, who addressed the mournful assembly as he pointed to the corpse of the unfortunate member of Congress who has recently fallen in a duel, and who was about to be followed by his brother members to the grave, on the value of an individual life; and I said to myself, if the loss of one individual, however amiable and however worthy, affects the community thus deeply, from the singularity of the circumstances of his death, how can we, as a moral and Christian people, be insensible to the fact that one thousand hardy seamen perish annually in the vast deep, the shipwrecks by which they perish being occasioned chiefly by the intemperance of some individuals upon whom the responsibility of duty rests, while tens of thousands fall in a manner yet more melancholy and deplorable, from similar causes, on shore; sinking into death under the stupifying effects of liquor, in the very act of offence against Heaven, and with all their unrepented and unatoned crimes upon their heads! But to return to the statement of results, I may say, we ascertained that the loss of property by sea and land, by fires, by shipwrecks, and by the destruction and spoiling of goods of various kinds in the hands of drunken workmen, amounted at least to another fifty millions more.

Then there is to be taken into view all the expense rendered necessary to provide asylums for the insane; all our numerous infirmaries, and work-houses, and hospitals, our poor rates and alms-houses; add to this all the machinery for the administration of the police, in lighting and guarding the streets and highways; then add, again, the cost of all our jails and our prisons on shore, with the hulks afloat, and the penal colonies abroad; and you will agree with me that it is a low calculation to say that the entire loss to the people of Great Britain, from the prevalence of intemperance and the use of intoxicating drinks, is at least two hundred millions of pounds sterling. Now, ask yourselves what effect would be produced upon the state of the world at large, if Great Britain could save this great sum of money, and expend it on works of benevolence and social improvement; in the support of missions, in the general circulation of the gospel; in the extension of commerce, and in spreading the seeds of civilization over all the globe!

But if it be true that Great Britain suffers so great a loss as that which I have stated, from the prevalence of intemperate habits among her population, it cannot but be true that America must suffer in a greater or less degree, to whatever extent such habits may prevail among her people.

I have now done with the statement of facts elicited by our committee of inquiry: not that the facts are by any means exhausted, for there are many more important ones remaining; but I feel my own strength to be failing me, from the indisposition under which I am laboring; and I fear your patience may be near being exhausted too. I hope you will allow me, however, in conclusion, to add a word or two in the practical application of what we have said. I listened with great delight to the short speech (much too short, indeed, for its eloquence) of the honorable gentleman who spoke from the floor on the right, (Mr. Randolph,) who adverted to the importance of sending forth from this Capitol a high

moral influence, such as became the legislative body of a free, mighty, and virtuous republic, to its remotest bounds. It is hence, as from the social and political heart of your Government, that those arteries and veins start forth in every direction, and branch themselves out in a thousand channels, till they reach the farthest extremities of this your vast and beautiful country. The pulsations are sometimes more rapid, at other times more languid; but, sooner or later, the faintest palpitation or tremor of the mighty heart is felt throughout the entire body politic. How important is it, then, that its every pulse should beat in harmony with what is good; that the vital blood of the public opinion should be pure in its outset, and continue pure throughout its course. As in the natural body, its health and vigor has an intimate dependence on the fulness of the blood in quantity, its purity in quality, and the vigor and force of its regular circulation, so must the moral feeling of the American community be vitally affected by the influence going from this place. It operates like a talisman, like a charm. If it is good, the amount of benefit must be beyond calculation; and if evil, the injury will be in like proportion.

I have of late endured much labor, and suffered much fatigue; but I rejoice that, after a journey of many hundred miles, I find myself honored to stand beneath this magnificent dome, and to address such an audience as is now before me; for although I do not enjoy the dignity of being an American citizen, yet your sympathy with the great cause I advocate has crowned me with the honor I so highly appreciate. I am fully aware that much must necessarily depend on the example of what may be denominated the higher classes of society, before many of whom I now speak. Heaven forbid that, on the one hand, I should act the part of a flatterer, or, on the other, should accuse you of being more immoral than others; yet, with the firmness which becomes the advocate of truth, I must say that the most powerful cause of the continuance of this great evil of intemperance in the world, is chiefly attributable to the higher classes of society. Fifty years ago, the relative state of the higher and lower classes, in respect to temperance, was just the reverse of what it now is. Then the lower classes were comparatively sober, while those above them were notorious for their habits of intemperance. You are all, perhaps, familiar with the proverb we have in England, "as drunk as a lord;" a proverb originating in the fact, that lords and wealthy men were formerly among the most intemperate of the community. Now, though you have no lords titular, yet, doubtless, there are among you many who are lords in the ease and opulence of their circumstances, or who would, at least, be unwilling to be placed quite on a par with the lowest in society. To these, and especially to the ladies here present, let me say that the example set by you in the use of wine, operates as a constant stumbling-block in the way of those who are endeavoring to draw the lower classes from the use of intoxicating drinks. When we remonstrate with them on the subject, they say to us, in reply, "Your intentions, no doubt, are very good, your benevolence unquestionable, and your arguments of great force; but we should like to see a little example as well as precept springing from you. Leave off your use of wine and other stimulating drinks; and then we shall be the better prepared to listen to you, when you tell us that alcohol is not good. As for us, we are not able to buy wine, nor can we spare from our working time so much as would be necessary to sit over it as gentlemen do. Men who depend on their daily labor for their daily bread must buy that liquor which is cheapest, and which they can drink the quickest. Wait till we get so far up in life as to be on a level with you, and then we will only drink Champaign, ladies' wine, as it is called, with, perhaps, an occasional glass of Burgundy, or Claret, Sauterne, Hock, and such delicate vintages, or even agree to do without any at all. But we have a secret suspicion that wine is liked by the gentry chiefly for the alcohol it contains. At least, we never heard of the fact, that any gentleman has taken the pains to extract the alcohol from it, and then drink the residue." When a poor laborer makes to you such an appeal as this, what can you answer? Nothing. You can only resolve to go home, reflect on the subject, and yield the victory to the excellence of his logic, as well as to the knowledge and experience of the medical faculty on the subject. We follow their advice with great respect, when they recommend to us to swallow the most nauseous and revolting mixtures. We close our nostrils, and after endeavoring for some time to screw up our resolution, we at last gulp down the abomination of abominations, which perhaps makes us sick for days after. All this we do when we believe our health to be in danger. Let us then try to respect the same advice, when it is given us in regard to alcohol, and show our confidence in their judgment, by regarding it, as they do, as a poison, never necessary to persons in health, but always more or less injurious.

The first gentleman who addressed you this evening (Mr. Reed) spoke of the saving of money which would be effected by the disuse of wine as a beverage. Perhaps, however,

you may say that you have too much money already, and do not want to economize. If so, I am glad to hear it; but I believe that this is a condition somewhat unusual. We are often told, indeed, while asking contributions to some object or purpose of benevolence, that "what with subscribing to one thing, and making donations to another, we who are called rich find it nearly as hard to make the two ends of the year meet, as the poorest of our neighbors." To some it may be an object of importance to save all the money which they have been in the habit of expending in wine, but if not necessary on the score of economy, such a saving would enable them to hand over the amount to some object worthy of their bounty. They might lay it out in books, for the use of some village community, where books are rare; or apply it to a thousand other purposes. And I may venture to believe, that when you lie on your death-bed, and cast your eyes back upon your past life, it will give you more consolation to have established such a little library, than to leave a cellar full of empty bottles, covered over with cobwebs, though the wines that once filled them had been selected with the finest taste.

I will not say that ladies have more influence in this matter than the other sex. I know perfectly well that they do not take the same amount of wine. But, under the existing forms and usages of society, men dare not drink without their sanction. The gentleman who is desirous of drinking a glass of wine looks with smiling countenance and beseeching eye to a lady who sits near him, and, with most insinuating tone, asks, "Madam, will you *allow* me, will you *permit* me, the honor of drinking a glass of wine *with you*?" It is in the companionship that the honor lies. If the lady should reply, "Sir, I cannot, because I hold the example of wine-drinking injurious to society, though I can have no objection to drink water with you, if you please," what an effect it would have! Believe me, that gentleman would weigh well to what lady he next applied for protection. Oh! they could do much, would they reply, as the lady has often done with whom I have the honor to be allied: "I cannot drink wine with you, Sir, first, because I think it injurious to myself: and, next, because I believe it wrong to countenance a custom so injurious to others; but I shall be happy to drink a glass of water, which is so much superior. I derive such pleasure from quaffing that pure element, that I will venture to invite you, and, if possible, persuade you, to do the same, and you will thank me hereafter for my firmness." The good cause we advocate is not to be advanced by violence or rudeness, but by gentle persuasion like this. We are not to enter the field of combat with the battering-ram, but are to employ those silken cords which gently but powerfully draw the human heart. And well do the ladies know how to employ these silken cords, when they have an object in view on which they have fixed their determination. Bonds like these are more powerful and enduring than those of iron and brass. The God of nature has invested their sex with an influence which man cannot destroy if he would; and which he should not destroy if he could. Let the women of America, then, set the noble example I have advised. Let men see how convivial, how cheerful, how joyous, how merry, even to the end, a feast can be made, in which wine has no part. No doubt, with the dull and stupid, conviviality is artificially promoted by wine; but the intellectual and the brilliant need no such aid. And, even with the former, that which springs from such a source is but like a brilliant and transient coruscation. It dazzles for a moment, but it has a speedy end. How many piques, how many quarrels, how many fatal and bloody contests, have sprung from the inflammation thus produced! I would that all those who think wine a necessary accompaniment to the cheerfulness of an entertainment, could have witnessed a scene which was recently displayed in the city of Philadelphia, where two thousand of the inhabitants, including many of the most intelligent men and the fairest ladies in that city, sat together within the walls of a theatre from half past five to half past eleven o'clock, while the most abundant refreshments were passing around in every direction, but not one drop that could intoxicate, and where conviviality, in its highest degree, and joy and mirth and social happiness, without one jarring note to mar the harmony, continued to the very end.

I have one other charge to give to those of my fair audience who are mothers. Such as believe wine to be a good, desire to make their children partake of it, and therein intend, no doubt, to show their maternal benevolence. But what usually happens? The little boy and girl are brought in when the cloth is removed, and take their station, one by the side of papa, and the other at mamma's right hand; and the more beautiful and interesting they are, the more their fond parents usually desire thus to exhibit them to the admiring guests. And who can wonder at it? I am a father myself: I well understand the workings of parental affection, on such occasions as these; and it is not that feeling of love for children, and pride in their charms, of which I complain. The guests, in politeness, admire their juvenile companions, and the blushing little child is patted on the head by the person who sits near

it, while the father exclaims, "You have been so very good to-day, that you shall now be allowed half a glass of wine, as a special privilege." The girl thus becomes, for the moment, a woman, and the boy a man, by being permitted to do, at particular times, what men and women do on ordinary occasions; and under the tuition of their fond but unreflecting parents, they are made to nod their little heads, and to say, "Your health, Mr. So-and-so; your health, Mrs. So-and-so," till they are tired, and their little throats are parched and dry; and then, to show that they have won the indulgence by the performance of this ceremony, there comes a second pat upon the head, and in a voice of commendation the mother says, "You are a *good* child, indeed you are; you have done it so very well that you shall have another half glass next Sunday." How could the simple children do otherwise than imbibe a taste for that which is not by nature agreeable, but to which they become reconciled by the example of their superiors, until the fatal taste is formed? Alas! how many a wretched, dissipated youth, has been banished from college, in the midst of his literary career; how many a prosperous and thriving merchant has let his affairs run into confusion; how many a noble-minded, lofty statesman, has fallen from the heights of power; while each one of them has owed his ruin to the mistaken fondness of the father and the mother who brought him into existence!

But I must hasten to an end. I have done the utmost that my strength would permit, to lay before you, in the simplest language I could find, facts connected with the great question of Temperance, which brings us here. I ask you to ponder them well. I beg you to consider what will be the moral effect of banishing every intoxicating liquor from your table; and by this example, aided by corresponding efforts, banishing it from your country. If you are inclined to spend the same amount of money, or double the amount, which wine has hitherto cost you, in something else, in objects of benevolence, of instruction, or even of personal comfort or of taste, I have no objection, provided the money be invested in some innocent form. If you desire your children to grow up with an unblemished reputation, oh! protect them from the insidious draught. If you desire that the interests of religion, the cause of education, and the reign of general happiness, should be augmented and accelerated, there is no one means among all that you can employ, which in its effects will be so extensive as this, on the moral habits of mankind. It is too common to say, "Well, I am convinced; I admit the truth of all you say; but what can *I* do? Why should I join a temperance society? By doing so, I seem to show a doubt whether I shall hold out in temperate habits. A pledge is proof of a want of confidence in myself; but I have that confidence, and therefore need not make pledges." I think, however, I can furnish an answer to that objection, which will come home to the bosom of every one. Is there a moment in human life, when the mind is possessed with a more entire and undoubting confidence, than when we approach the altar to take the mutual matrimonial vow? Is that the moment of doubt? Nay, would it not be considered as the greatest insult to entertain for a moment a doubt, either of the perfect honor and fidelity of your wife, or of the purity and integrity of your own intentions? What would more deeply stir all that is in man than the expression of such a doubt? But do we therefore say, "Let us make no pledges; a pledge shows a want of confidence, and therefore we will not make it?" Do we ask, "Why go to the altar? Why not rely on each other's honor and faith, without this ceremony of pledging?" No one uses such an argument as this; and why? Because a pledge is the outward and visible sign, not of doubt, but of the very confidence of which it is supposed to be the opposite. I therefore approve of temperance pledges, and I have joined the temperance society, in order that my pledge there may throw in the subsidiary aid of its influence to all the other binding considerations which prompt a man to the observance of sobriety; and thus the union of many, acting in concert, gives strength and support to all.

As a nation, you have given a thousand proofs of the estimation in which you hold the principle of Union. Perhaps there is no sentiment stronger in the American bosom than a sacred regard for the Union of these States, unless it be your homage to the memory of that illustrious chief whose portrait I see before me, suspended on the walls of this legislative chamber; a portrait I never look on without feeling that his is a name synonymous with every virtue, the property of every nation, and one of the brightest heritages of posterity. To the preservation of the Union you are ready to make every sacrifice compatible with honor. It is to this sentiment that I will make my closing appeal. Single efforts are but a proof of weakness; united efforts always produce strength; and I hope it will not be considered egotistical in me, if I draw an illustration of this principle from the profession to which I was brought up. I embarked in maritime life when I was but nine years of age. Before I was ten, I was a prisoner of war. Before I was eleven, I was marched many hundred miles, barefoot and in want, through a hostile country, a captive and in chains. Before I was twenty-one, I commanded a ship on the ocean, and for fifteen years after this, I con-

tinued to traverse almost every sea, continuing in this command until I was thirty-six years of age. My chief familiarity, therefore, has been with the deep. On my way hither from the North, I observed on the bosom of your broad Potomac, as I had done before in the various harbors and inlets which fringe your beautiful shores, a number of ships from the ocean. They remained stationary, firm, and undaunted, alike in the calm and in the storm, being securely held by the strength of their cable; and that very cable is one of the most striking emblems of the strength which flows from union, when its comparatively diminutive size is contrasted with its powerful strength. When a vessel is laboring upon a lee shore and an iron-bound coast, whose projecting reefs of rock are covered with surfs and breakers of the utmost violence, the mariner, seeing no hope of weathering the storm under sail, approaches the coast with confidence; and, cutting away his masts, he reduces his vessel to a mere hull; he then lets fall his anchor in the deep, and veers out his cable the required length. Though, in the language of the Psalmist, in that beautiful passage in which he says, "They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters, these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep;" though "they mount up to the heavens, and go down again to the depths," the yawning gulf threatening to bury them at one moment between high impending waves, and the sea carrying them at another to its topmost height, where the vessel quivers on the crest of the curling foam, the seaman's confidence in the anchor of his hope, and in the cable by which his bark is moored, is never for a moment disturbed. In this perilous hour, when all the elements seem combining to pour down their united force on his devoted head, though the landsman would feel his brain whirl with delirium, and his knees totter in feebleness, till he should be ready in his despair to cast himself into the deep; the mariner relies, with unwavering confidence, upon his anchor's hold, and the strength of his well-united cable, and thus he outrides the storm, till by degrees the tempestuous sea subsides, and the uproar of the elements is succeeded by a calm, when, rigging his juremasts, he once more hoists his sail, and with propitious breezes safely makes the port. What, then, has saved him? Nothing, under Providence, but this very principle of *union*. The individual fibres which went to make up that mighty cable by which his ship rode out the storm, were each one so weak and feeble that it might be broken by the infant in the cradle, or snapped asunder by the child in his sport. But when these feeble fibres are wound into an united thread, these threads twisted into an united cord, and these cords in separate strands wound into the combined and united cable, its strength is so complete that the heavens themselves may descend in all the fury of the tempest, and the sea be lashed into one great cauldron of whitened foam, yet the seaman will walk in calm security amidst all the threatened danger; and, relying on his anchor, and the cable by which his bark retains her hold, he will even sleep in all the tranquillity of security, while the roaring of the storm but sings his lullaby.

Thus, then, let me conjure you to gather up your individual efforts, and unite them in the bonds of a temperance society. Let your anchor be the rock of truth, and your cable the united elements of individual influence and example; and then, though the jester may vent his sneers, and the lover of intemperance throw out his contemptuous prophecies, though the interested may denounce, and the indifferent may scorn, the beams of approving heaven will shine on your united efforts, and you will effect for your beloved country an emancipation not less glorious than that which first set you free from a foreign dominion. And if that immortal chief, [pointing to the picture of Washington which is suspended in the hall of Representatives,] who was the instrument that achieved for you your political freedom, now looks down from his bright abode upon the condition and the destiny of the land he loved, there is nothing over which, even in heaven, he will more rejoice, than to behold the political emancipation of America followed by her deliverance from all the multiform and degrading effects of national intemperance. That, and that alone, is wanting, to make this country the ornament and crown of the civilized world. And oh! may the Almighty Ruler of the Universe so dispose the hearts of those legislators and rulers of the land, whom I am now privileged to address, as to make them redouble their efforts to send forth in every direction the heralds of temperance, like the white-robed messengers of peace, till, compassing the entire surface of this fair and beautiful earth, they shall gird the globe with a girdle of glory, the beginning and the end of which shall be this noble edifice; the rays of light that shall go forth from it to-night being projected and continued till they sweep onward across the broad Pacific, and return again over the blue Atlantic, thus illuminating the whole orb that its light embraces, when the termini of this radiant circle shall be clasped by a gem of purest brilliancy, in the stately porticos and lofty domes of this proud Capitol, converted into "one entire and perfect chrysolite," as the talisman of temperance, and Star of the West—to reform and to enlighten a changed and regenerated world.